1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
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534 Tepoztlán. The small flageolet (S. *chirimía*), which
[796] together with a small drum of European pattern is played on the roof of the church or chapel to signalize every sacred *fiesta*, as were once played on the *teocalli* the *tlapitsali*, *huehuetl*, and *teponaztli*, is carved out of
[177] *zopilote* wood and is a modification of the ancient pattern under Spanish influence. In Nahuatl discourse it bears the ancient name *tlapitsali*.

177 Local industries are few and almost all are Euro-
438 pean in character. *Adobe* bricks are made by anyone
[333] who builds a new house or repairs an old one; the simple technique is probably chiefly aboriginal. The
[283] twisting of ropes of maguey fiber is a domestic industry confined to a limited group of houses. This technique is European; a wooden wheel is used. The lime-burning done at the neighboring hamlet of San Andres is likewise European. Carpentering, ironwork-
[463] ing, masonry, woodcarving, silverwork, shoemaking, and breadmaking are all in the hands of specialists; in each case the tools and techniques are European—the early priests were good teachers and the Indians good pupils.

286 Mena[1] declares that *zarapes* are made in Tepoztlán of tree cotton, but other evidence of such manufacture is lacking. A large loom has recently been introduced by an educated young man for the weaving of shawls. The use of tree cotton (N. *cuahichcatl*) is,
283 however, well understood, and occasionally thread is spun thereof by the use of pre-Columbian spindle

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 382.

l:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
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whorls (S. *malacate;* N. *malacatl*) which abound in Tepoztlán and are simply picked up in any yard and used. Even in the few surviving primitive looms, however, commercial thread is used. There are at least two of these looms still in operation in Tepoztlán. They are used only to weave women's belts. The structure and somewhat detailed nomenclature of this loom cannot find room for discussion here. The weft is set up on a framework (N. *tzatzaztin*) of ten short sticks driven into the ground. The upper end of the loom is fastened to a house or tree; the lower end is drawn tight with the backstrap (N. *analoni*).[1]

Of industries relying on special machinery there are two: the mill, to which is brought for grinding only a small part of the maize eaten in Tepoztlán,[2] and the mixing and bottling of soft drinks of carbonated water and artificial flavoring. Several men are occupied with this enterprise, and the product is largely consumed.

This fusion of Indian with Spanish features produces, it will readily be seen, three classes of culture traits: unaltered Indian elements; elements which have developed in Mexico from the impinging of Spanish features upon a homologous Indian pattern; and European elements transported intact to Mexico.

[1] Mena says, and probably rightly, that the entire loom is called *analoni*. But these particular informants used the term for the backstrap only. [114]

[2] There are three reasons why the mill has only a limited use: to many the slight cost is prohibitive; husbands assert that the flavor of *tortillas* made of mill-ground *nixtamal* is very inferior; and, finally, to bring her maize regularly to the mill to the neglect of her *metate* lowers a woman in her neighbors' eyes. [252] [558]

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
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438 wood, are drawn together by their common occupa-
476 tion. More marked is the part played by the twisting
621 of ropes of maguey fiber among the inhabitants of
[372] San Sebastian. This industry, introduced a generation
[283] ago by an emigrant to Tepoztlán, has spread to few
houses outside of the *barrio* in which he settled; but in
San Sebastian almost every household is so occupied,
[439] and when there is an important fair in some larger
town in the state, the men of San Sebastian will go
there almost in a body to market their lassos and
riatas.

184 The *barrios* have, indeed, obviously different cul-
621 tures, or, what is the same thing, different personal-
829 ities. The varying characteristics of the *barrios* are
recognized by the Tepoztecos themselves, and at least
the more reflective of them can express the differences
they feel. Thus, Santo Domingo is the most civilized
barrio, and the most patriotic (i.e., most nearly con-
scious of national feeling). Their chapel is decorated
with Mexican flags; a modern orchestra was organized
here, etc. Santa Cruz is strongly primitive—Catho-
lic, exclusive, and independent—"Santa Cruz governs
itself like a little republic." San Pedro is a *barrio* of
poor, illiterate people who preserve to a marked ex-
tent ancient mentality and resent the presence of out-
siders in their midst, etc.

103 The consciousness of *barrio* personalities receives an
621 expression in names which are applied to the *barrios*.
829 These names are in Nahuatl and are in every case the
names of animals. The names are:

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

The *curanderos*, on the other hand, are prejudicial to the health of the people and are a definite impediment to the realization of national health programs. In view of our brief example, no blanket statements can be made; each institution must be examined in the light of its social function in the community.

The new occupations in Tepoztlán consist of the millers, chauffeurs, bus line

Fig. 19. A corn mill.

employees, tile and brickmakers, and druggists.[9] In all there are 41 individuals who work in these occupations. All the men who work for the bus cooperatives are members or sons of members of the cooperatives. Such membership is a prerequisite for employment. Tile and brickmaking are technically not new occupations, since these trades were practiced on a small scale prior to the Revolution. During the years of the Revolution and the hard times which immediately followed, the trade lapsed. In 1934 it was revived and now is growing steadily. The tile and brick makers produce only for the needs of the village.

[9] The ropemakers and charcoal makers listed in Table 19 are occupations of long standing and were mentioned by Redfield, although an accurate comparison of the expansion in these occupations cannot be given here because Redfield did not state the number in 1926.

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Fig. 32. Picking hog plums.

ROPEMAKING

Ropemaking, like charcoal burning, is limited to the smaller upper barrios of the village, and is concentrated in the barrio of San Sebastián where ten families engage in this occupation during the dry slack season. All of these families are in the lower economic level of the village, so ropemaking is also an occupation of the poor.

According to local tradition, ropemaking was introduced into the village about 1883 by a man from Ajuchitlán who came to live in the barrio of San Sebastián.[8] It is interesting that in all the years since then, there has been little spread of ropemaking to other parts of the village, and there has been little change in the techniques employed, except that the ropes have become much longer. In 1890 ropes only 12 varas long were made. Now Tepoztecans make ropes 24 and 30 varas long.

Ropemaking is a family affair; it takes two or three persons for the major operation, twisting. Most of the *ixtle* fiber is obtained from the maguey plants which grow on the *cerros* of the communal lands. But only about half of the families who make rope gather their own *ixtle* fiber; the others buy it.

The maguey plant is beaten with a special tool which breaks up the plant so that the fibers can be extracted. The fiber is then soaked overnight. The fiber is spun on a simple spinning device and is then ready for the rope twisting process. This is done on a rather complicated homemade device shown in Fig. 33.

[8] Although we have no evidence as to whether ropemaking as it is now known existed in pre-Hispanic Tepoztlán, it is probable that some type of cordage was known and used in connection with weaving.

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283 Until a few years ago, ropemaking was done only in response to specific orders
434 from individual buyers, and each producer took great pride in his product. In
[477] the last few years, however, some producers have been competing with one another, and profits have been reduced. (See Table 44.)

TABLE 44. Estimated Cost of Production of Rope, 20 Varas Long.

April, 1944	*Pesos*
Cost of 3 lbs. of *ixtle* fiber	3.75
Preparation of fiber	1.00
Cost of twisting	.70
Cost of spinning	1.50
Labor cost in rope twisting	.50
Total production cost	7.45
[435] Sale price of rope	8.00
Profit	.55

Since all the labor is done by members of the family, there would be a daily income of 3.70 pesos plus .55 for profit above cost.

438 *CIRCULATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS*

439 The circulation of goods in Tepoztlán is carried on by means of the local market,
443 stores, itinerant merchants, inter-village trade, the sale and purchase of goods in

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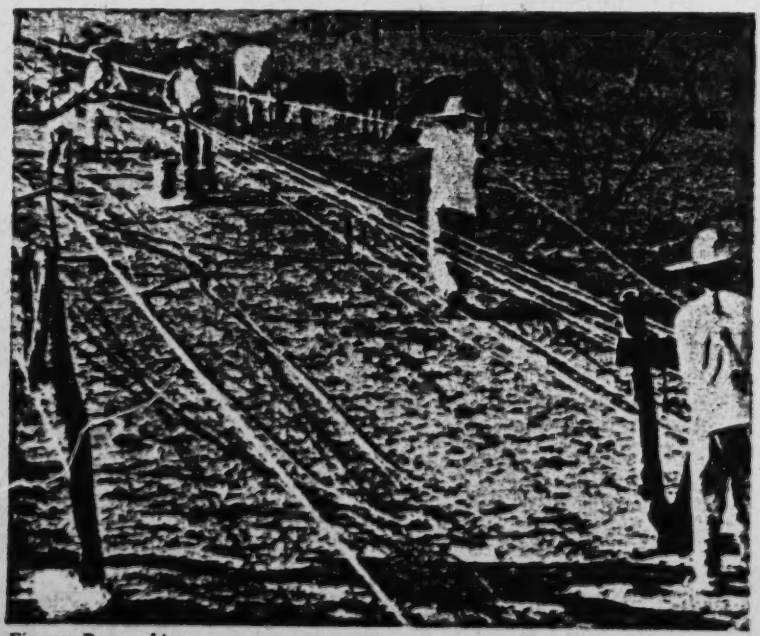

Fig. 33. Ropemaking.